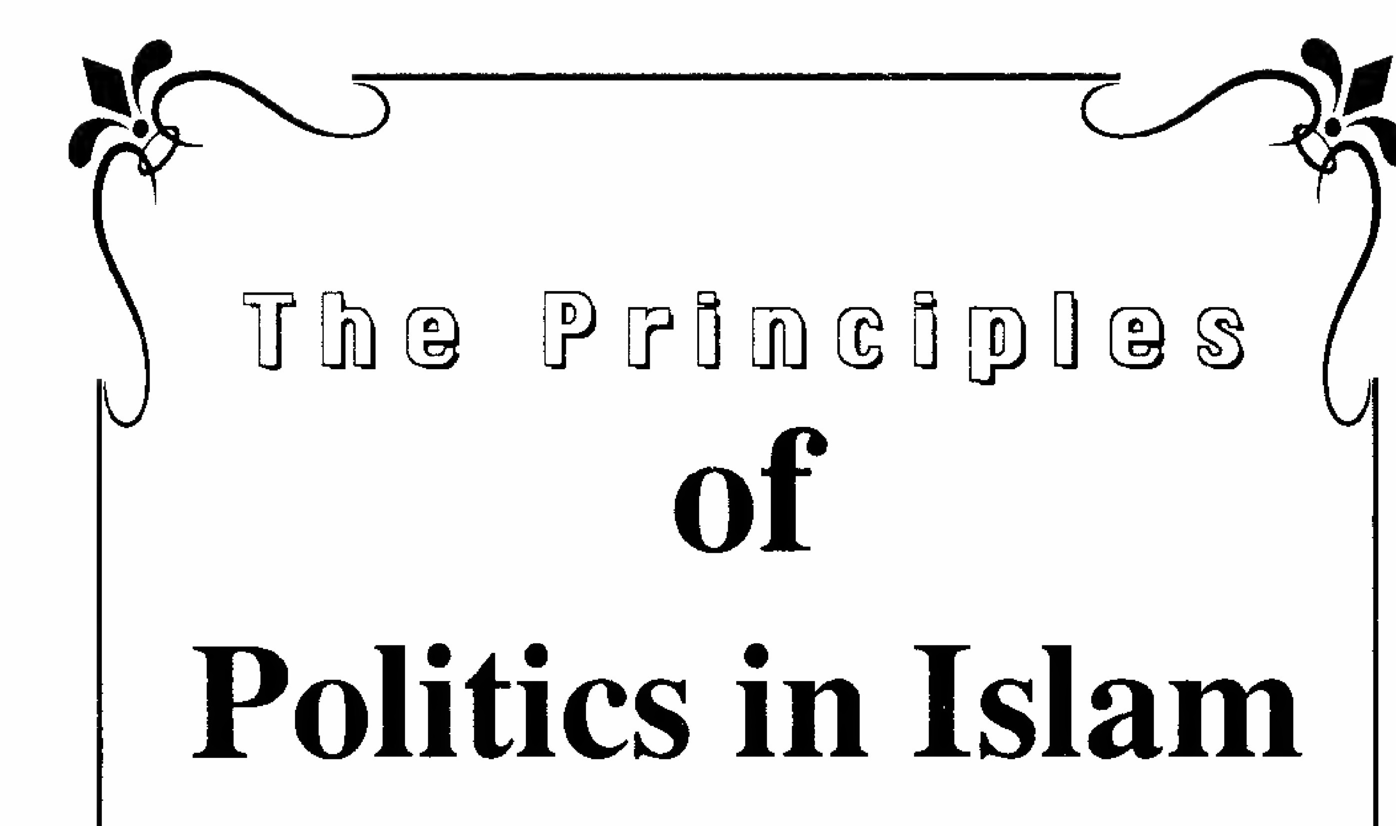
السياسة في الإسلام

The Principles of
POLITICS IN ISLAM

Muhammad M. Al-Hudaibi



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PREFACE

NO doubt, Islam brought along with it an all-embracing code of life, i.e., Islamic *Shari`ah*. Among the most striking characteristics of this code is its inherent flexibility and ability to cope with all spheres of life; whether they are social, economic, political or whatever. This code governed Muslims' life until the wave of western colonialism set forth, overthrew most Muslim countries and began to intervene in their internal affairs even those related to and guided by religion. Consequently, the Islamic *Shari`ah* was put aside and replaced by western laws and regulations.

That critical period witnessed the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood. The *Jama`ah* has been shouldering itself with the task of calling to Islam and advocating the necessity of returning to the original and fundamental sources of Islam, i.e., the Glorious Qur'an and the Prophet's

Tradition (*Sunnah*). It has been also striving for setting the Islamic *Shari`ah* as the first criterion to rule and govern the life of Muslims as the case already has been.

The Muslim Brotherhood adopts the principle that Islam is a comprehensive system that governs all aspects of life. Among these aspects are politics, whose relatedness to the religion of Islam has been - for long - a matter of controversy, argument and debate. The fact that politics is wholly implanted in Islam was distorted - whether intentionally or not - by the westerners. Unfortunately, these westerners were followed and extremely imitated by some Muslims who were - and still - deluded by the concepts of Modernism and Enlightenment. This resulted in the rise of Secularism with its ugly face, advocating the separation between Islam as a religion and politics as a ruling means. But the Muslim Brotherhood leaders along with other virtuous scholars defend Islam and refute the opponents' views by making clear the real relationship between Islam as a divine religion and politics that governs the people's lives.

Principles of Politics in Islam represents the Muslim Brotherhood's point of view on different and rather serious issues such as multi-party system, *Shura* (Consultation), status of non-Muslim minorities, and women's and human rights in Islam. In fact, this study is of paramount major importance and worthiness as the editor-in-chief of Harvard International Review comments:



> "The study, prepared by M. M. Al-Hudaibi was excellent: substantive, clear, and direct. I think it will help our readers better understand the position of the Muslim Brotherhood with regard to Islam and the situation in Egypt."

To end this, it is worthwhile to remind ourselves and others that Islam is the only ideological and political system that has honored man and humanity to the utmost degree.

ISLAMIC INC.

Publishing & Distribution

INTRODUCTION

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, U. S. A., releases a periodical magazine (Seasonally) bearing the title "Harvard International Review."

The magazine's editor-in-chief contacted Muhammad Ma'mun El-Hudaibi, Deputy General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, and hoped that he may contribute through preparing a study on Islam and politics from the Muslim Brotherhood's point of view. This study, besides others prepared and submitted by other thinkers and politicians on the same topic, were to be published in Spring, 1997. His excellency accepted the proposal.

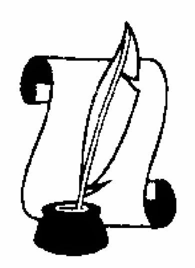
Afterwards, the editor-in-chief, in his fax dated 3rd March, 1997, noted that:

"The study, prepared by M. M. El-Hudaibi was excellent: substantive, clear, and direct. I think it will help

our readers better understand the position of the Muslim Brotherhood with regard to Islam and the situation in Egypt."

The editor-in-chief, moreover, asked for permission to summarize some parts of the study due to print requirements and the size of the magazine itself. As his excellency agreed on this, the Spring Issue, 1997, was released bearing the title "Islam in Politics and Power" including the study prepared by him.

Here we state the fax sent by the editor-in-chief to his excellency M. M. El-Hudaibi that reads as follows:



HARVARD INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

P.O Box 401. Cambridge. MA 02238. USA Tel: (617) 495-9607. Fax (617) 496-4472

March 3, 1997

Mr. M. M. El-Hodaiby
Secretary-General
Ikhwan
Cairo, Egypt

Dear Mr. El-Hodaiby:

I am sending with this letter a copy of the edited article for our Spring issue. The article was excellent, substantive, clear, and direct. I think it will help our readers better understand the position of the Muslim Brotherhood with regard to Islam and the situation in Egypt. I appreciate all the attention which you and your colleagues have paid to this project.

You will see that we cut down the article by 1500 words. I do not think the article suffers any harm from the condensation: all the main points and arguments are still there, with a relative detail. We also did not include the fifteen principles (the addendum) which you cited in that form, although I inserted a paragraph which mentions several of them.

Please read over the piece and let me know, by Thursday, whether it is okay. You could fax me any changes that need to be made, identified on the margins of the article. Please keep in mind that we will have to keep the article to (more or less) the size it is at now.

I have several brief questions as well:

(1) There are several quotations that are not identified in the text, which I've marked in the copy I am sending you. Are they from *hadith* or other sources? Please identify them - you do not need to cite them very specifically, but at least give a general source.

(2) What is the exact title and spelling of your name? For example, is your title "Secretary General" or "Deputy General Guide"?

Thank you for your assistance and your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Shirin Sinnar
Editor-in-chief

I
A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EVER since the Egyptian people in its majority, along with other African and Asian peoples, embraced Islam in the deep-seated conviction that it is a true religion revealed to a true Prophet by the Lord of Mankind, Islam has fully and totally arranged the life and all activities of those peoples. The two basic sources of Islam are the Glorious Qur'an and the *Sunnah* which is both a theoretical explanation and a practical application of the Glorious Qur'an.

These two sources have become the sole reference point for everything relating to the ordering of the life of the Muslim family, individual, and Community as well as the Muslim State and all economic, social, political, cultural, educational, and also legislative and judiciary activities. The Islamic creed and *Shari`ah* have ruled over the individual

and society, the ruler and the ruled. They have had supreme authority and neither a ruler nor a ruled people could change anything they contained.

Since the Islamic *Shari`ah* revealed by Allah (Exalted be He), judges applied its teachings with no need for prior approval from the rulers. They fulfilled its injunctions without reference to those in power. A significant part of the *Shari`ah* tenets consists of rules and principles. Hence, judges would exert their intellectual energy to deduce rulings for individual sub-cases with no need to have general laws promulgated by the rulers. Out of this *Ijtihad* (Personal Reasoning) and the views of scores of scholars who devoted their lives to the interpretation of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* and the provisions they contained, a massive wealth of jurisprudence developed which came to be known as Islamic *Fiqh*. Of necessity and in view of the differences of cultures and characters, various schools and trends emerged each with its method of interpreting the texts, of extracting rules and verdicts from them, and of applying them using analogy with existing texts in case there is no specific text for the topic in question. Most of these schools and trends adhered to the basic fundamentals and rules found in the *Shari`ah* texts (the Qur'an and *Sunnah*). In this way they managed to avoid extremism and irregularity. This was the case in particular with what came to be known as the doctrine of the *Sunnis*. In fact, the differences that developed among these

schools and trends were confined to subsidiary, not basic, questions and only to some points of application. The adherents of those schools and doctrines lived amicably with each other particularly in ages of cultural flourishing. Islam embraced them all and one of the basic principles, found in the texts and agreed upon by the proponents of these trends is that no Muslim can be declared apostate merely on account of his or her view or interpretation of the texts unless he or she denies and disbelieves in a categorically revealed and definitively clear text or if his or her interpretation is totally in violation of the rules of Arabic which is the language of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*.

The texts of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* order Muslims that there should be no compulsion in religion and that the non-Muslims with revealed books preceding Islam (particularly Jews and Christians) and who live as citizens in the Muslim State should enjoy safety and security. These texts ensure for non-Muslims the freedom of belief and the freedom of opinion. They reject that those people be forced to deal according to the rulings of the Islamic *Shari`ah*. They are to be left to deal in accordance with the tenets of the laws in which they believe. For example, they marry under these laws and this marriage is recognized by the Islamic State and the Muslim Community. The effects of such marriage become legal as to lineage and inheritance. They are not to be banned by the forbidden items of food

and drink that Muslims observe as long as these items are not forbidden to them. The Islamic texts allow Muslims to deal with those non-Muslims as long as the Muslims observe the *Shari`ah* in such dealings. The non-Muslims have also the right to own property, real estate, movables and all kinds of assets. They can engage in various professions like medicine, engineering, agriculture, trade, etc. They have the right to assume all offices of state that are not related to enforcing the rulings of the Islamic *Shari'ah* in which they do not believe. In fact, they are left free to take their disputes and litigation to the competent and knowledgeable persons of their own law. A Muslim judge cannot examine or pass verdicts in these cases unless they themselves refer these cases to him. Hence, those believers in religions other than Islam lived in the Islamic Homeland safe and secure in their persons, honor, and property as well as everything they held dear. Except for individual cases, history does not prove any general persecution or comprehensive wronging committed against non-Muslims.

The comprehensive Islamic system remained the dominant one in the Islamic States. This does not mean that the application was perfectly sound or that no wrongs or sins were perpetrated by rulers. In fact, many of the texts have been abandoned or incorrectly interpreted. The first among these is *Shura* system and the selection of the head of state.

After the first three Rightly-Guided Caliphs disputes arose over the person of the head of state. Internal wars broke out. The leadership of the state soon changed from a chosen Caliphate to a hereditary and tyrannical monarchy. We can even say that up to the present time the basic principle in Islamic State system has disappeared, namely, applying of *Shura* for the selection, supervising of the ruler and the subsequent measures for observing his acts and holding him to account, as well as sharing in the decision-making with him. This happened although the relevant text remained in the Qur'an with no one being able to hide or tamper with it. But rulers' tyranny was being curtailed by the aforementioned fact that judges derived their rulings from the Qur'an and *Sunnah* directly and from the views and *Ijtihads* of the scholars and the jurisprudents, which formed legislative wealth of a religious character that left no room for rulers to promulgate public laws except in very narrow and limited confines. Another factor that helped control the tyranny of the rulers and their indulgence in wrongdoing was the fact that the Islamic *Shari`ah*, particularly in the case of the categorical and fundamental texts, ruled over them and they had no power to change their laws or rules, otherwise this would have been counted as deviation and an apostasy. This would have infuriated the people into sweeping revolts that could have led to the toppling of rulers.

The Foreign Christian Invasion of the Islamic Countries

The first consequence of such invasion has been the exclusion of the Islamic *Shari'ah* from being the constitution and law that rules the state and the basic system of society. Egypt was occupied (by Britain) in September 1883, hardly a year after the invasion, the so-called "national courts" were established. Most of their judges were non-Egyptians. French laws were almost literally translated to become the dominant and effective laws in civil, commercial, and criminal cases. The Islamic religious courts had no jurisdiction left for them except in areas of personal status affairs, marriage, divorce and the related issues of establishing lineage, dowries, and alimonies. The Islamic economic system which had prevailed was changed into the system of the usurious banks although the usurious interest rate is strictly forbidden under the Islamic *Shari`ah*.

In the educational system new schools were established that only taught physical and natural sciences in a crude way and only permitted the graduation of clerks of limited intelligence and culture. They only offered very marginal opportunities for educating the young in the creed and tenets of their religion.

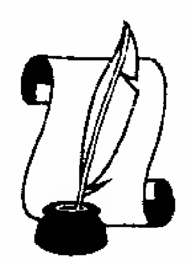
In the social system alcohol, prostitution, gambling and other activities forbidden under the Religion of Allah were permitted.

After Foreign Military Occupation

The countries and peoples occupied by the armies, creed, and social, economic, and ethical systems of the west struggled to attain their independence and be liberated from the sway of the west. After long years they managed to regain some of their freedom and independence. However, they came out of the age of imperialism with a weak social structure and a ruined economic system in which poverty, ignorance, disease, and backwardness prevailed. Consequently, the system of government became corrupt and weak. Tyrants seemed to be supported by forces of imperialism which withdrew their armies but retained their influence in various means.

Since the overwhelming majority of these peoples believed in Islam as a full system of life, forces soon appeared among them that strove to awaken the spirit of faith and remove ideas and opinions which emerged during the ages of decadence and imperialism wearing the garment of Islam though they do not belong to it. Movements of Islamic revival became active to spread the correct Islamic ideas and to demand the application of the rulings of the Islamic *Shari`ah* particularly the basic principles which ensure *Shura*, freedom, justice, and fairness as well as achievement of social and economic balance. There can be no doubt that among the most prominent and strongest of

these movements is the Muslim Brotherhood which started in Egypt near the end of the era of military colonialism in 1928 and has continued with its activities and struggle up to the present.



I I
THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND ITS CONCEPTION OF THE SOCIAL AND STATE SYSTEM

THE call of the Muslim Brotherhood was based on two key pillars:

1) The introduction of the Islamic *Shari'ah* as the basis controlling the affairs of state and society.

2) Working to achieve unification among the Islamic countries and states, mainly among the Arab states, and liberating them from foreign imperialism.

FIRST: As for the first pillar, about 97% of the Egyptian people are Muslims, the majority of whom

perform the rites of worship enjoined by Islam. They abide by the Islamic ethics and apply to themselves most of the rules whose enforcement does not require any government intervention or license. But legislation, the judiciary and economic and social dealings are founded on non-Islamic bases, thus creating a state of alienation between the people's creed, on the one side, and their forms of activity which are governed by rules that contradicted their creed, on the other. The lack of any connection between the policies of the authorities in power and the legislations, on the one hand, and the Islamic *Shari`ah* on the other, led to the emergence of many social, economic, and political practices that are invalid under the Islamic *Shari'ah*. It was incumbent on the Muslim Brotherhood in such a situation to adopt a system for sound Islamic education and the spreading of Islamic principles and ethics as well as the education of the Muslim individual, family, and society into commitment to Islamic ethics and principles. For a state with its government that is committed to Islam cannot be established without a popular base that believes in the Islamic system and is aware of its main ideas.

SECOND: For the liberation of Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood has contributed in an effective strong manner to the struggle against the British imperialist armies occupying Egypt and to the achievement of their evacuation. The Movement also backed the liberation movements in many Arab and Islamic countries.

Since the ruling powers are mostly totalitarian, tyrannical, and selfish, they do not rely on a popular will that elected them into the seats of government. Hence, they have no popular support despite the intensive and misguiding propaganda that is being handsomely financed by them. Because these governments mostly rely on foreign influence and always fear it and in view of their special formation and military nature, there have been repeated clashes between the Muslim Brotherhood and those governments that strongly reject the existence of any entity enjoying powerful popular support. In these clashes the founder of the Movement, Hassan Al-Banna, was assassinated in February 1949. In the era of Gamal Abdel-Nasser thousands of the Movement leaders and members were arrested, jailed, and tortured in October 1954 with six of its top leaders executed by Nasser and many others killed in prisons and concentration camps. The famous intellectual Sayyid Qutb and two other leaders of the Movement were executed in August 1966. After a period of relative calm the authorities in Egypt, and shortly before the parliamentary elections of 1995, arrested 62 persons of the most prominent group leaders and brought them before military courts on the pretext of their carrying out political activity and taking preparations for participation in the elections.

Despite all these obstacles and events the biggest political and doctrinal gathering in Egypt with tangible activity and effectiveness is the Muslim Brotherhood.

III
TERMS ALLEGED BY WESTERN MEDIA

CONCERNING some terms that the western media have been propagating particularly among the public in Europe and America these usually boil down to two:

1) Islamic fundamentalism.

2) Political Islam.

The media forms the culture and perception of the public in the western states and the forces that direct the western media usually choose catchy and effective terms and phrases that are related to some historical experiences or facts in the west with the aim of communicating information to the minds of recipients quite easily but also without any discrimination between what is true and what is merely imaginary or customary. In the west there have been groups

called "fundamentalists" and these have been characterized by narrow-mindedness and artificial interpretation of some of their holy books. These interpretations petrified the dynamism of life and isolated society from thought and culture and even from the natural sciences in some cases. Now when the forces of western propaganda and media call some movements of Islamic revival "fundamentalists" they aim at having their public creating a link, on the level of sentiment and thought, between fundamentalism in the west and those Islamic groups. The outcome is that the image of the latter is distorted, their call made repulsive, hatred is disseminated against them, and a frenzy of declaring war on them is awakened.

The fact of the matter is that there is no similarity or link between western fundamentalism and the Islamic liberation and revival movements. The majority of Islamic movements at the present age accept and deal with all the exigencies of the age and the natural sciences such as technological inventions etc. They reject none of these except what goes against the teachings of Islamic *Shari`ah* and creed. Other uses are acceptable to these movements.

In the definition of Islamic jurisprudence the word *Usuli* which is now used in Arabic to render the term "fundamentalist" refers to persons who specialize in the disciplines of the fundamental aspects and sources of jurisprudence. This is the discipline that explains and studies the rules by which *Shari`ah* rulings or views can be deduced

from the various ways of reconciling different rulings and arranging them in an order of priority.

The western media also talk too much about the term "Political Islam" or the groups of political Islam. It is clear that what is meant is that the recipients - particularly in the west or ignorant and poorly-informed ones in the Islamic countries - would get a belief that Islam consists merely of creed, rites, and ethics and that there are some people who wish to falsely attribute themselves to religious tenets and arouse the religious sentiments of the masses to gain backing for their political views or confer sanctity on themselves and their views. In fact, the aim behind this misrepresentation is to bring back to mind the history of religious or church governments in the western countries. This is a major fallacy and a serious manipulation of the tenets of Islam and of the truth about the ends of many Islamic groups and movements with the Muslim Brotherhood at their head.

However, Muslim scholars and jurisprudents agreed that no one can have any sanctity or infallibility after the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the other Prophets. Indeed, the first ruler to come after the Prophet (peace be upon him), Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq (may Allah be pleased with him) addressed the people when he came to power saying: "I have become your ruler though I am not the best among you. Obey me as long as I obey Allah's Injunctions regarding you. If I

disobey, correct me." The second Caliph, `Umar Ibn Al-Khattab, also said the same. Thus every person can be right or wrong, can be obedient or disobedient to Allah. According to religious texts there is no one who is above the law or who is infallible.

Likewise, Muslim scholars and jurisprudents all over the ages and all Islamic countries unanimously agreed that the rulers are not more than human beings who can be obedient or disobedient to Allah, right or wrong, and that none of them is infallible. Therefore, while the government in Islam is required to abide by the principles of the Islamic *Shari`ah*, it is still a civil government that is subject to accountability. The fixed and unchangeable tenets of the Islamic *Shari'ah* are very few and they are very basic principles designed to achieve justice, fairness, and social and economic equality as well as to protect human rights and dignity, to preserve honor, soul, property, and sanity against wrongful attack, and to protect the teachings of religion and the system of state. There can always be an access to *Ijtihad* to deduce views that are appropriate to global, economic, and social changes. Islam gives also a free rein for invention, creativity, and development in the natural sciences and other areas of human experience and innovation. It places no obstacles against progress in accordance with scientific inventions. Islam knows no infallible religious government that speaks in the Name of Allah or that claims that its decisions are part of

religion or are sacred. This does not mean that Islam has nothing to do with politics. Quite the contrary, the teachings of the Islamic *Shari`ah* have introduced and regulated the principles of justice, fairness, equality, and human rights. The *Shari`ah* includes texts relating to systems which nowadays are considered to be an integral part of politics. We, the Muslim Brotherhood, demand that these particular *Shari`ah* injunctions should be adhered to and acted upon. They cannot be disregarded, neglected, or their application and enforcement ignored. We are not the only ones who say this but the scholars of Al-Azhar University (the most important institution specializing in the study of Islamic teachings) and the scholars and jurisprudents of all Islamic universities and institutes of learning all over the world are unanimous in upholding this view though some of them may be remiss in exerting tangible efforts to bring this about or to support the Muslim Brotherhood in its efforts in this regard.

In the *Shari`ah* there are categorical texts making it necessary to apply the Islamic *Shari`ah* and act in accordance with it and indicating that Muslim rulers should abide by it. Such Qur'anic texts are categorical and unequivocal and here are some of them:

> ﴿O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Apostle, and those charged with authority among you. If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allah and His Apostle, if ye do believe in

Allah and the Last Day: that is best, and most suitable for final determination. ﴾

(An-Nisa': 59)

﴿ But no, by thy Lord, they can have not (real) Faith, until they make thee judge in all disputes between them, and find in their souls no resistance against thy decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction. ﴾

(An-Nisa': 65)

﴿ The answer of the believers, when summoned to Allah and His Apostle, in order that he may judge between them, is no other than this: they say, 'We hear and we obey': It is such as these that will attain felicity. ﴾

(An-Nur: 51)

﴿ Then We put thee on the (right) Way of Religion: so follow thou that (Way), and follow not the desires of those who know not. ﴾

(Al-Jathiya: 18)

﴿ To thee We sent the Scripture in truth, confirming the Scripture that came before it, and guarding it in safety: so judge between them by what Allah hath revealed... ﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 51)

I V
IKHWAN'S VIEWS ON SOME CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

THE Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan*) defined their positions on some of the current controversial issues, such as political pluralism, violence as a means of change, and woman status in the Muslim Society as well as the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. To continue the discussion of "politics in Islam", it is important to shed light on these stances.[1]

Multi-party System

In relation to *Shura* and multi-party politics, we see that

1. The *Ikhwan* made clear their positions on those intellectual issues in statements and booklets, including "*A Plain Statement to Men*", - dated April, 30, 1995; and a booklet on woman's involvement in public and political life, *Shura* and multi-party system, Cairo, 1994.

the content of the verse: ﴿To those who hearken to their Lord, and establish regular Prayers; who (conduct) their affair by mutual consultation﴾, implicates that the *Ummah* (nation) is the source of authority. It is the nation that appoints the one whom it trusts and is sure of his faithfulness, loyalty, knowledge, experience, etc. Power cannot be taken by force or with the sword, but it is gained through proper free choice. The Muslim Nation is obliged to submit to Allah alone, to sanctify the laws of the Glorious Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, and to believe that man does not have the right to rule except with that which was revealed by Allah in the form of *Shari`ah*. In that sense, it cannot nominate anyone to act on its behalf except if he is willing to rule in accordance with the Law of Allah, and ready to train it (the Nation) on the requirements of the principles of religion. While we admit that the Glorious Qur'an and the sanctified *Sunnah* are the ultimate constitution and that nothing else will be acceptable in this regard, we realize that there must be a written constitution, but one that extracts its laws, in the first instance, from the texts of the honorable *Shari`ah*, then taking into consideration its objectives, aims and comprehensive principles and tenets, and finally bearing in mind its right in organizing that which is permissible. In addition, the costitution must contain a balance between the specialisms of the different institutions that run the country so that no institution overtakes or transgresses on the other.

The constitution must also include those laws and principles that will protect public and individual rights for all the nation's citizens whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims, ensure that the ruling system is one that relies on *Shura* that derives its legitimacy from consulting the people, maintain the accountability of the ruler to the masses, and explain how they are to be corrected using peaceful means if they do not fulfill their duties properly, and to change them if necessary. This will obviously require a parliamentary council that has effective legislative and supervisory authority, in which true public administration is manifest as a result of free, honest elections and whose decisions are binding.

We also emphasized that we believe in multi-party system and that there is no need for the authorities to impose restrictions on the formation or the activities of political parties. Rather, there should be an independent judicial authority that is referred to in times of disagreements.

Non-Violent Activities

In the past years, the Muslim Brotherhood have repeatedly stated that they are involved in political life and have committed themselves to legal means and non-violent methods. Their only weapons are: the honest and truthful words and the selfless dedication to social work. In so

doing, they are confident that the *Ummah's* conscience and the people's awareness are the rightful judges of all intellectual and political trends which compete honestly with one another, within the limits of the constitution and the law. Thus, the Muslim Brotherhood reiterate their rejection of any form of violence and coercion as well as all forms of coups which undermine the unity of the *Ummah* because such plots may allow their organizers to supersede the political and social realities; but it would never give the masses the opportunity to exercise their free will. Furthermore, these methods will create a big crack in the wall of political stability and form an unacceptable assault on the true legitimacy in the society.

Indeed, the present atmosphere of suppression, instability and anxiety has forced many of the young men of this Nation to commit acts of terrorism which have intimidated innocent citizens and threatened the country's security as well as its economic and political future. The Muslim Brotherhood dissociates itself totally, without any hesitation, from all kinds and forms of violence and denounces terrorism of any form and from any source. In addition, they consider those who shed the blood of innocents or aid such bloodshed as being wrongdoers and partners in sin. Hence, it calls all Muslims to abandon such actions and return to the right way because a Muslim is one who refrains from attacking others either physically or verbally.

We, members of the Muslim Brotherhood, invite all those who are involved in acts of violence to remember the advice of our Messenger (peace be upon him) in the Farewell Pilgrimage Sermon when he commanded us to protect the sanctity of blood, honor, and property of every Muslim.

The Muslim Brotherhood's continuous policy has been one of urging the government not to counter violence with violence, to abide, instead, by the rules of law and jurisdiction, to examine the different aspects of the problem and not to be confined to the confrontation policies. Some people deliberately and unfairly accuse the Muslim Brotherhood of being involved in terrorism. They feel that the above-mentioned policy is paving the way for violence to grow. Instead, they expect the Muslim Brotherhood to whole-heartedly support the government's actions. These accusations cannot be taken seriously in the light of the obvious long term record of the Muslim Brotherhood's positive contribution to political life, including their participation in general elections and representative bodies. When they were forced to stay away on certain occasions, they always remained committed to the laws and constitution and fought back using their only weapon, which is their truthfulness and honesty:

﴿ and they are never afraid of reproaches
of such as find fault... ﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 54)

Muslims and Non-Muslims

In the first instance, our stance *vis-a-vis* this particular issue or any other issue is not simply a selective or transitional one based on personal feelings, but it has always been based on Islam, committed to its tenets and derived from its authentic sources; namely, the Holy Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. The Muslim Brotherhood considers all human beings to be inherently good and equipped with potential that could qualify them to follow the right path. The Muslim Brotherhood does not pass judgments on those around them, e.g., denouncing other Muslims as infidels, *Kuffar*. On the contrary, It judges individuals on the basis of their actions and words. A sinful Muslim is not a *Kafir* (infidel), since he may change at a later time; hearts are the domain of Allah, the Merciful, Who provides them with piety and to Whom all are accountable.

We, the Muslim Brotherhood, always consider ourselves as *"Du`ah"* not *"Qudah"*, i.e., preachers but not judges. Therefore, we have no intention of forcing any person against his faith or ideology, bearing in mind the Qur'anic guidance:

﴿Let there be no coercion in religion.﴾

(Al-Baqarah: 256)

Our stance regarding our Christian compatriots in Egypt and the Arab world is not new and it is both clear and

well-known. The Christians are our partners in the country and have been brothers in the long struggle to liberate the nation. They enjoy all rights of citizenship whether financial, psychological, civil or political. To care for and cooperate with them in every good cause is an Islamic obligation (*Fard*) which no Muslim would dare to underestimate or take lightly. If any person says or does the opposite, we would be ashamed of his actions and sayings and we have nothing to do with him.

Nowadays, politicians and thinkers worldwide are raising the banner of pluralism and exhorting the recognition of human differences as far as ideas, thoughts or actions are concerned. However, when the Holy Qur'an was revealed to Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) more than 1400 years ago, Islam considered these differences as being both universal and human facts, and based its political, social and cultural systems on such variation and diversity:

> ﴿And we made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other...﴾
>
> (Al-Hujurat: 13)

Pluralism according to Islam obliges the recognition of the "other" and requires the psychological and intellectual readiness to accept what truth, good and benefit others may possess because, "...wisdom is what a believer should be

looking for; wherever he finds it, he should utilize it in the best possible way.". He who depicts Muslims as a narrow-minded sect, hiding behind an iron curtain which prevents dealings with other nations, does a great injustice to both Islam and Muslims.

The Muslim Brotherhood reaffirms its commitment to the enlightened and wise Islamic viewpoint and reminds all those who follow or quote the Muslim Brotherhood to be sincere in their words and actions. Each one of them should befriend others and open his heart and mind to everyone, never look down on any person nor remind him of past favors, nor lose patience with him. These Brother's hands should always be outstretched to others in kindness, love and purity. Their approach to the whole world is one of peace in words and actions, following the example of our Messenger (peace be upon him), who is a mercy sent to all the worlds, as the Qur'an affirms:

> ﴾If you were severe, hard-hearted, they would have broken away from you...﴿
>
> (Al `Imran: 159)

> ﴾it is indeed a reminder for you and for your people and you soon shall be brought to account...﴿
>
> (Az-Zukhruf:: 44)

Woman in Muslim Society

Woman is a pure creation that Allah has honored her just as He has honored man:

> ﴾We have honored the sons of Adam; provided them with transport on land and sea; given them for sustenance things good and pure; and conferred on them special favors above a great part of Our creation.﴿
>
> (Al-'Isra: 70)

That she is a wise, rational being, except when she is inflicted with the confusions that man is also inflicted with. That she is addressed by the Glorious Qur'an and the *Sunnah* in the same way as man is addressed. She is accountable by *Iman* (Faith) and *Shari`ah* of Islam just as man is. Her responsibility in that regard is comprehensive even if the nearest man to her disagrees with that. Her civil and legal duties are the same as those of man. She has all the financial rights available to man. All her monetary dealings are absolutely valid without the need for the consent of her father, brother, husband or any other man.

We have also clarified the boundaries of the man's sustenance of the woman, and said that it is restricted to questions regarding the sharing of marital life only, and that it is a leadership of mercy, companionship and consultation,

in return for responsibilities that the man has to fulfill. In any case she is not definitely a lower human being than the man.

Likewise, we have presented the evidence for the validity of our *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) argument that the woman has the same rights as the man regarding participation in parliamentary, legislative and trade union elections. She also has the right to nomination and election at these councils. She has the right to any public office, except the *Imamah Al-`Uzmah* (the higher office of ruling) and whatever else falls under that category. As for her taking judicial appointments, the door of *Ijtihad* is open so long as any such study bears in mind the woman's chastity, bashfulness, and honor.

Human Rights

It is a very sad paradox that Muslims have been accused of violating human rights at a time when Muslims, whether they are peoples, governments, individuals or groups, are being subjected to all kinds of aggression and their basic rights and freedom are being violated. It is obvious that governments and politicians in powerful countries are using double standards. When they deal with non-Muslims they seek justice and show respect to human rights charters, but when they deal with Muslim governments or countries, oppression is tolerated and aggression is justified. The tragedies of Bosnia and Chechnya are but two examples.

It is worthwhile to remind ourselves and the others that Islam is the only ideological and political system that has honored man and humanity to the utmost degree. Islam is absolutely free from all forms of discrimination whether based on race, color or culture. From the beginning, Islam has protected the blood, privacy, property and honor of all individuals and considered any violation of these sanctities a forbidden act or sin. It has also made their protection a religious duty and an Islamic act of devotion, even if non-Muslims do not oblige themselves with such standards. The Qur'an explains this as follows:

> ﴿... And let not the hatred of others make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety.﴾
>
> (Al-Ma'idah: 8)

If some Muslims here or there, at this point of time or in the past, have not committed themselves to this obligation, their misdeeds should not be attributed to Islam. It has been commonly accepted that: "you can identify true statesmen by seeing them stick to truth, but truth cannot be identified by seeing those who follow it."

The Muslim Brothers would like to proclaim to everyone including ourselves that we are at the forefront of those who respect human rights and work for it. We call for providing all safeguards for these rights, securing them for every human being and facilitating the practice of all

liberties within the framework of ethical values and legal limits. We believe that human freedom is the starting point for every good cause, for progress and creativity. The violation of human freedom and rights under any banner, even Islam, is a degradation of man and a demotion from the high position in which Allah has placed him, and it prevents man from utilizing his initiatives and powers to prosper and to develop.

At the same time, we proclaim here that the present tragic acts of injustice are afflicting Muslims who have never hurt any one. It is the duty of all wise men to protest loudly, calling for the universality of human rights and the enjoyment of human freedom on an equal footing. Such equality is the true way to the international and social peace and towards new world order which would be able to correct any injustice and stop all acts of aggression.

15 Principles for Agreement

The following 15 principles can be considered a compendium for the democratic principles which we call for. We have declared these principles in public and invited all the political parties and powers in Egypt to support them as a "National Charter". Also, it was included in my political program for the general elections which took place in Nov., 1995.

First: To confirm unequivocally that the people are the source of all power so that it is not permissible for anyone individual, party, group, or institution to claim the right to authority, or to continue in power except with the consent of the people.

Second: Total commitment to, and the respect of, the principle of power exchange through free and fair general elections.

Third: To confirm the freedom of personal conviction (religious conviction).

Fourth: To confirm the freedom of establishing religious rites for all the known heavenly religions.

Fifth: To confirm the freedom of opinion and the right to publicize it, and to call, peacefully, to it, within the limitations of the moral values of society that are detailed in the first section of the constitution. An important consideration in ensuring the above is the freedom of owning and using the different mass media outlets (television, radio, video tapes and equipment, fax machines, newspapers, magazines, books and newsletters).

Sixth: To confirm the right of forming political parties and that no administrative body should have the right of restricting or stopping the application of this right. An independent judicial authority should be the only source in confirming what falls outside the ideals and standards of

society, or that which can be thought of as a rejection of peaceful political participation.

Seventh: To confirm the right to public gatherings, the invitation to them, and participation in them, all within the limitations of public safety, so long as the usage of violence or arms or the threat of doing so is not included.

Eighth: To confirm the right of peaceful demonstrations.

Ninth: To confirm the importance of representing the people through a parliamentary council elected through a free and fair elections, and for a limited period, after which elections are held again.

Tenth: The right of every citizen (man or woman) to take part in parliamentary elections.

Eleventh: The right of every citizen to become a member of parliament through elections.

Twelfth: Ensuring the independence of the judicial system at all levels while taking all the necessary steps and laying down all the conditions to ensure that it is safe from any source of fear or manipulation, and that no one is to be tried except by a qualified judge. That all exceptional courts are cancelled, and jurisdiction of the military courts are restricted to cases involving military crimes and violations only.

Thirteenth: The separation between the prosecution and investigation authorities, and that the public defense authority should be independent from the minister of justice. Furthermore, whoever it (public defense authority) condemns to imprisonment should have the right of appeal to a judicial authority against that decision.

Fourteenth: The army must stay clear of politics, concentrating only on protecting the country's external security, and that it should not be used, neither directly nor indirectly, by the governing authority in enforcing its wishes and control, or in prohibiting the people's rights.

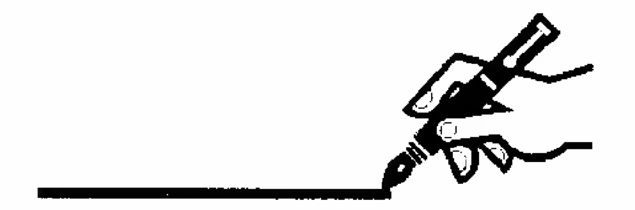
Fifteenth: The police and all other security services must protect the security of the nation and society as a whole, and that its utilization in maintaining the government or as a means of crushing opposition opinion should be prohibited. A system that overlooks its work and leadership, and ensures the above, should be imposed; more specifically, it (security forces) must not be allowed to intervene in political activities and general elections.

This is our faithful testimony, and this is our call in all truth and sincerity. We invite every one through wisdom and good advice, to turn over a new leaf in human and international relations, so that we may be able to eradicate all evils and enjoy justice, liberty and peace:

﴾Our Lord! Decide between us and our people in truth for You are the Best to decide.﴿

(Al-A`raf: 89)

Praise be to Allah and His Blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad.





The Principles of Politics in Islam presents the Muslim Brotherhood's point of view on serious issues such as: the multi-party system, *shura* (mutual consultation), the status of non-Muslim minorities and women, and human rights in Islam.

Muhammad M. Al-Hudaibi was born in 1921. Brought up in a religious family, he has been involved with the Islamic Movement since his father worked as one of its leaders. He got a B.A. in law and then worked in the judiciary until he became the president of the court of appeal. He has since been elected a member of the Egyptian Parliament. He is one of the leading intellectuals of the Islamic Movement.

Al-Falah is an institution devoted to developing a better understanding of Islam among all the people of the world, Muslim and non-Muslim. Of all religions, Islam is the most maligned and misunderstood in the West. Though Oriental Studies have long been established in European and American universities, *real* Islam has seldom been presented to the world. Our aim is to clear the way for a fair appraisal of the fastest-growing religion in the world.



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